/357 cont./

252 A rudimentary way of preparing corn, but also little valued, consists of boiling the kernels in water for a long time until they have become soft (atiruru) (3).

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3. Atiruru is a dish whose consumption is intimately associated with the observance of magico-religious prohibitions. It is the only permissible nourishment for girls when they have their first menstrual periods, for people in mourning, and for women for a period of ten days after giving birth (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 14).

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262 /358/ The Chiriguano make a broth with corn flour (api) and meat, which is not bad.

They do not use haphazardly the 11 varieties of corn which they cultivate. Each, according to its properties, is intended for the preparation of a definite dish. Yellow corn (avati-hendi-vaé or avati-iyu-vaé) serves for making chicha or corn beer; white corn (avati-ndi) is roasted, as is avati-kanana. The corn called katimti, or crinkled corn, is generally roasted, as are avati-tiore and avati-saimpini (gray corn), which are intended to be roasted and made into flour.

262 Avati-rai, or small corn, is planted only in times of scarcity when the harvest has been bad. Of small stature, it yields only one ear of reduced size, but has the advantage of growing fast (Nino, pp. 241-242).

A Chiriguano's meal in normal times is not made up exclusively of corn, even if this grain figures in all his menus. The popularity which corn has is also shared by beans, or kumanda. The Chiriguano cultivate 11 varieties of them also.

The Chiriguano eat beans either dry or fresh. In the [252 latter case they are cooked in the pod in water or under ashes. [263 Beans boiled in the pod are seasoned with pimento. Then one has the dish called sopiriwa.

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252 In order to shell dry beans, the women make a big pile of them which they put on a hide: then, sitting down beside it, they hammer them with a stick as if with a flail. The seeds are loosened, and to separate them from the pod they take handfuls which they winnow (Fig. 27). They carry out this operation several times until not a single seed is left sticking to the pods. Next they collect them into a pile with a small broom and rid them of all impurities by shaking them in a sieve. The shelled beans are kept in vessels.

At Caruruti every morning I was offered a dish of beans cooked in the following way: a handful of beans, with a little water, was put on the fire in an improvised frying pan formed out of a large potsherd. In an instant the water was evaporating and the beans beginning to smoke: this was the moment to take them off and serve them.

The underground oven, which among other American tribes is used almost exclusively for cooking meat, has been adapted by the Chiriguano to a more humble use: in a hole which they make in the ground and which they have first heated, they bury fresh beans and leave them until they are done (Nino, p. 343).

262 After beans in order of importance come squash or gourds
252 (ondai anki, and ginda). The Indians boil them or roast them
under ashes. In the first case they season them with pimento
• [263] or salt to make ginaka-mikira, or squash fat. The /358/ seeds are also roasted and eaten with corn flour, atipi, or beans.

The Indians of the Caipipendi valley sometimes, but rarely, ate sweet manioc tubers. They boiled them in water or roasted them under ashes.

Sweet potatoes or camote (in Chiriguano yeti) are roasted or boiled. They were served to me only two or three times. /Fig. 27 appears here./

263 The Chiriguano like condiments and season all their vegetables with them: in the bean pot they put pimento, which with them occurs in the form of extremely strong small oval fruits, green and red. I have also seen ground red pimento. In the villages where the Indians use crystallized salt, they break it into small

/359 cont./

263 pieces which are put near the fire to make them melt little by little. The cooks dip them from time to time into the soup, then take them out. If the salt is taken from salt marshes or from water by evaporation, /360/ they mold it into large balls which are scooped out as needed (Fig. 70).

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Fig. 21. Young Chiriguano woman winnowing beans. Caraparí. (Photo. A. M.)

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The major part of the salt exploited in Chiriguano country comes from a mine situated in the San Simón region, between San Luis (Entre Ríos) and the Salado River, in the department of Tarija. The Indians flock there from all directions with droves of donkeys which set out again loaded with big blocks of crystallized salt afterward cut into small pieces.

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C 263 319 The Indians of Ihopeyti, although living in the neighborhood of the San Simon salt mine, consume it in the form of the big balls which I have just mentioned. Pulverised, it is a salt which reminds one of our table salt but coarser. The inhabitants of this village assured me that they used to find it near the Pilcomayo. That is very possible, for the rivers which flow in the region are very salty as their names indicate (Río Salado, Saladito, etc.). These rivers, which frequently overflow and often change their beds, must form here and there real salt marshes. The Chiriguano of Ivu and Macharetí collect the water from a salt spring, boil it, and by successive coolings obtain salt which they mold into balls (Campana, p. 89).

Fig. 28. Salt molded in a ball, ready to be consumed or exported. Prov.: Ihopeyti. (1/2 nat. size.)

C 263 The Chiriguano are parsimonious with their salt. I did not see them salt anything but dried beans; and when the latter are cooked in the pod, they are served that way without condiments, the same as corn or squash.

C 264 When a Chiriguano woman offers you a dish of beans or meat, she always puts some corn flour beside you. It is not easy to eat it according to the rules: the Indians take great pinches of it between their fingers and throw them into their mouths with marvelous dexterity. Upon seeing them so adroit, I thought of their ancestors from Brazil, the ancient Tupinamba and Guarani, who excited the hilarious admiration of the first navigators: "But however that may be, our Tououpinambaoults, men and women as well as children, being accustomed from childhood to eating it (manioc flour) completely dry instead of bread, are so used to and trained for that, that taking it with

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2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chiriguano mortars are of the cylindrical type; the pestle is long and heavy. Maize flour is sifted in round basket sieves very similar to those used in the rest of tropical South America. Meat is boiled or broiled on a spit; the babracot is conspicuously absent. Food is served in clay bowls and more rarely in wooden dishes, and eaten with wooden spoons. Salt is extracted from mines near San Luis, or obtained by evaporating the water of salty brooks.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

Dwellings.—Until the 17th century, the *Chiriguano* built large communal houses, "150 feet [46 m.] long," in which many families lived together, each occupying the space between two wall posts (Lizárraga, 1909, p. 552). A hundred years later they were lodged, as they are now, in small rectangular houses, with a steep gable roof and wattle-and-daub walls. Sometimes the roof projects in front to form a small veranda. A house belongs either to a single biological family or to two or three closely related families, generally parents with their married children.

The ancient villages were composed of three to five long houses, grouped around the plaza. Modern villages also have a central plaza. A storehouse is built on piles near each dwelling and serves to protect crops against rats and dampness. Like the settlements of their Paraguayan ancestors, some ancient *Chiriguano* villages were protected by a single or double palisade.

Household furniture.—The *Chiriguano* sleep on platform beds of reeds and use their woolen or cotton hammocks to recline on during the day or as cradles for babies. The typical *Chiriguano* hammock is made of long warp threads twined together at set intervals by weft strands; a few caraguatá specimens are made in a net technique. Other items of furniture are benches carved of a single piece of wood, large vessels to store clothes and food, and crude shelves hanging from the roof. A tree trunk with three radiating branches serves as supports for vessels or for piles of corn.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Clothing.—*Chiriguano* men, wearing only a G string (chiripá), were a common sight before shirts and pants came into general use. The cotton tunic (cushma), which was adopted from the *Quechua* after the *Chiriguano* migrations, disappeared long ago, but the poncho, a more recent acquisition, is still popular. As early as the 18th century, *Chiriguano* horsemen, in true Spanish style, wore skin breeches and leather coats. They wear sandals when they have to walk over stony ground or through thorny bush.

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The seventh type has no peculiarity. It is called Cachinchi, which in the language means curly, and it actually is; the kernel is rather small at the end, but not at the beginning, and in the middle it is very soft; it contains considerable saccharine, and they use it for parched maize. They also have the Abati guayeta, then the Abati chore, which they use for parched meal, and finally they have the Saimpini, gray, very good for parched maize because of its softness (2).

[177] 2. It appears that formerly these Indians did not have the Abati guayeta. It is very probable that it was introduced after the Conquest, or as soon as they had any relations with the whites.

262 Maize is a very common food for the Chiriguano Indian, and he eats it in different ways, but in times of plenty one tires of eating the same thing, like the Hebrews, who in the desert had become tired of eating manna. They remedy this difficulty with the Intina, side dishes /companage.

The first, Abati tina, is the Cumanda, French bean /alubia/; there are also 11 types of French beans, or [263] cumanda. All are eaten with salt or without /243/ it, with maize meal, with parched maize, or without them. Here they are; Cumanda háigũe, bean with a yellow kernel; Cumanda sacuayu, which literally means bean with yellow eye; Cumanda úú, black bean; Cumanda gũiraya, which literally means bean owner of the trees, because it is a climber; Cumandandi, white bean; Cumanda pucu, long bean with red kernel; Cumanda mi, small bean. This one is not small because of its grain, but because of the plant, and it is the one that the whites call yellow poroto; Cumandansi, sour bean; Cumanda guasu, large bean, it is because the plant is very thick. There is another called Gũira rupía because it resembles birds' eggs, and, finally, there is Saimpino, which is similar to the gray egg-colored maize (1).

244 1. The Cumanda guasu, or large bean, is the

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252 262 Infrequently the Indian drinks a broth of ground maize, Hapi; when he does not have meat, he uses beans and gourds for his broth. If he does not have these either, he prefers Cagüĩ rai, which he prepares by soaking and grinding the maize, removing the bran, and cooking it. They also chew it sometimes, let it ferment, and eat it when it is ready; anyone who sees this last food could not help but be disgusted, but for them it is a very excellent dish.

The twelfth and last way of eating maize is Muyape, [263] bread. The preparation is the same as that of the Hebrews when they eat unleavened bread, but the Chiriguano put salt and chili pepper in it; after it is kneaded, they cover it with ashes and fire and let it cook well; when it is done, they take it out, wash it with water until the ashes which have stuck to it are gone, and, well washed, it has the color of bread, which invites both big and small to savor it; it is what the Indian likes best, and the women make it frequently in times of plenty. Its odor and taste are very pleasant, especially when just made.

273 Cangüĩ — Chicha

All the ability of a wife consists of knowing how to make chicha well, the delicious cangüĩ of the Chiriguano, who is capable of walking a hundred kilometers or more to drink it, when invited with all the rules of native diplomacy. Cangüĩ is his coffee, his soup, his wine, his food, his drink, his everything. In a certain way it is his God, and I am sure that many would renounce heaven for chicha, because they know almost nothing of what heaven is, and, on the other hand, they know that chicha is a sweet thing which gladdens the heart and leads to conversation and singing; therefore, every Chiriguano woman must take special care from even before puberty to learn well the method of preparing it. Here it is (2).

[177] 2. The method of making the chicha which the whites call arrope is somewhat different, but the Chiriguano Indians do not use it and learned of it only recently.

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which rises continually to the sky in these interminable plains, taking behind it all of the trash that it finds along its way. It is called Cusumino, and, according to them, it causes pains in the feet, knees, and bones. When a whirlwind begins in a town, they try to cut it with a knife.

Illnesses and Remedies

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The most common illnesses among the Chiriguano are the intermittent fevers that are endemic, tuberculosis or consumption, eye disease, convulsive coughing, diarrhea, dysentery, mange or itch, and tumors accompanied by a kind of leprosy that covers a large part of the body. The intermittent fevers appear at the time of the first rains and continue until the time of the fruits and fresh maize. These fevers are not fatal, but one who is attacked by them has a rather afflicted life. Their remedies are vegetal; 757 they boil quebracho or algarroba bark, and they drink this water, but it does not always have a salutary effect. /286/ If a small dose of quinine is administered during the intermittent fevers, they immediately get well (1).

1. They get well with a small dosage, perhaps because their bodies are not accustomed to the remedies of the apothecary. Another efficacious remedy for the intermittent fevers is bitter coffee or coffee with a little sugar.

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The itch, tumors, and leprosy do not cause death. 262 Chiriguano food is almost always saltless. They are not careful 263 in selecting it, and stinking meat does not disgust them. Their 751 water is not always clear; they bathe at any hour and, after bathing, 515 do not dry their bodies. If it rains, they let the wet clothing dry 080 on their person. From this and other causes come the many skin

/189 cont./

Meat is cooked with maize as a soup or roasted. Before it is placed in the pot, it is washed clean. Fish are roasted over the fire in clamps /Klammern/ or in maize leaves. The small fish which I saw prepared in this way are taken out only when they are eaten. If there are many fish, they are dried for future use.

Especially in times of famine, various /Fig. 92b appears here/ wild plants are also eaten. Salt, which is now bought from the whites, is used for food. In former times it was fetched from the rock-salt pits on the San Luis, on the way from the city of Tarija to the Chaco, or salt was made from saliferous earth, "yukiu." The earth mixed with salt was placed in a bowl of water, sank to the bottom, and the salt water was used.

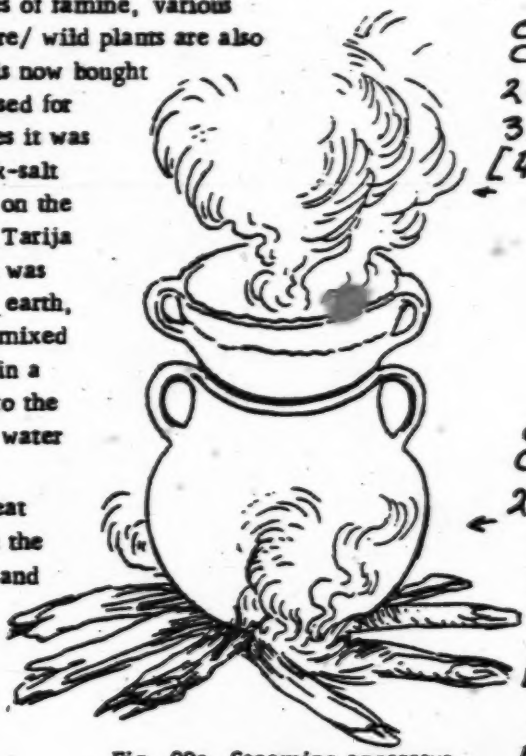

Fig. 92a. Steaming apparatus. Chané. Río Itiyuro.

Women and men eat separately. At home the men usually eat first and then the women and children. The Indians want to be left alone when they are eating. It is therefore extremely ill-mannered to speak to them during this important activity.

/190/ As far as I saw, they do not eat out of a common dish, but each one eats out of his bowl. After meals they rinse their mouths and wash their hands by spitting the rinse water over their fingers.

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262 respect to the eating of meat, the Chiriguano depend on their livestock, which, however, according to Nordenskiöld, since they omit the raising of pigs and chickens, is not so numerous as the livestock of the Chorote and the Churupí. They do not
262 241 eat the flesh of asses, horses, /19/ and dogs (78). Although

78. Nord. 1, p. 190.

we do not have exact data on the amount of meat that their livestock yields, we can suppose that it is not very great, and thus these Indians depend principally on vegetable foods, that is, on the products of their agriculture. We should say that, in comparison with maize, all other foodstuffs have almost no importance, except among the Indians of the Parapití, among whom the sweet potato is the most important food (79).

79. Nord. 1, p. 181.

261 In times of shortage they eat various wild plants, principally
273 the sweet pods of the algarroba (November-December), which, coarsely chopped up with water, they allow to ferment in order to produce a kind of chicha which has inebriating qualities (80).

80. Nord. 1, p. 236. Métraux I, pp. 361 and 362.

262 Since meals consist principally of maize, they are very
252 monotonous, although the maize is eaten by them in many different forms, either boiled or parched, or as a flour cooked in steam, as a fried maize-cake, in embers /rescoldo/, or as a soft maize-pudding (81). Meat is eaten roasted or boiled,

81. Nord. 1, pp. 188 and 189. Métraux I, pp. 356-358.

263 together with maize. Cooking salt is used at meals. While
317 previously salt (dyũki) was obtained from mines or extracted
439 from earth from salt licks /barreros/, today it is obtained

C /19 cont./
263 from the whites (82).
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82. Nord. 1, p. 189. Métraux I, pp. 359 and 360.

C 273 [312] Among beverages, besides water, which is scarce in certain regions, chicha (ka'ui) made of maize, potatoes, or algarrobo deserves mention (83). Chicha made from yellow

83. Nord. 1, pp. 234 and 236. Métraux I, pp. 364 and 365.

Ce [273] or white maize is preferred. The chicha from potatoes by the Chané of the Parapití River is considered inferior.

C Ce 264 415 The Chiriguano and Chané ordinarily do not eat from a common pot, but separately and from dishes. Because of this their houses contain many dishes, which are normally made of baked clay (nyá'e), but may also be of wood (sua) (84).

84. Cf. Nord. 1, p. 190.

C Ce 415 [126] I collected various baked clay dishes among the Chiriguano and Chané (cf. Figs. 78-80 /see p. 143/), as well as two wooden dishes, two examples of which the Museum already had, donated by Doña María F. de Casati. I shall deal with the baked clay dishes, along with the other baked clay vessels, in the chapter on pottery, and therefore enumerate here only the wooden plates in the collection.

C 415 Wooden Dishes (sua) of the Chiriguano

I. A. 351. (Gift of Doña María F. de Casati.) Diam. 21 cm. Ht. 6 cm.
I. A. 352. (") " 15.5 cm. "3.5 cm.
I. A. 496. (Max Schmidt trip.) Diam. 23 cm. Ht. 6 cm. (Fig. 18).
I. A. 497. (" " ") " 30 cm. "6.5 cm. (Fig. 18a).

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Acquisition of Raw Material of Inorganic Origin

Because it was the rich treasures of the Incas and of the bordering lands, especially their wealth in gold and silver, which stimulated the Chiriguano to immigrate into the regions bordering this empire, the question is posed as to whether the Chiriguano took part in the exploitation of the land for that purpose. We know of their battles with Guacane and his brother Condori because of the rich mines of Maypurún, and we know that the Chiriguano possessed these mines for some time and that on this occasion they took great quantities of gold and silver. But in those battles they captured Condori in person, and he was the owner of the mines, and they kept him no doubt to work the mines for them. Furthermore, their power over the region of the mines lasted a short time, because they were thrown back by the cacique Grigota /45/ as far as the eastern spurs of the Andes. We have no information that in their new land they had any opportunity to extract gold and silver from the earth, or that they themselves ever worked these metals in any major way. Today they have their silver ornaments made by the mestizos or the whites of their region, except for the single fact that the Chiriguano sometimes made their tembetás of tin.

Through the description of their tembetás and necklaces, we know that the Chiriguano have some semiprecious stones. As Nordenskiöld relates (213), they, according to their own

213. Nord. 1, p. 209.

statements, find the turquoise and chrysocolla beads on the ground where there had been houses or where ancient tombs are located.

While salt today is obtained from the whites, it was formerly extracted from the land, either in the form of rock salt, which they got from mines near San Luis, or in the form of salt water which they obtained by treating with water

8: Schmidt--108 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

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/45 cont./
the earth of the salt licks called "yukiu" (214).

214. Nord. 1, p. 189. See Métraux 1, pp. 359 and 360.

Making Fire

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Native implements to make fire are little used today by the Chiriguano and Chané. At home fire can generally be obtained from some other piece of burning wood, and for other occasions they commonly provide themselves with modern matches. Moreover, as I have said, the Chiriguano and Chané are not great smokers. One fire-making tool which is still found among them is the strike-a-light. The specimen I acquired from the Chiriguano is different from the strike-a-light of the Chaco tribes in that the tinder consists of a quite thick cotton wick. According to Métraux (215),

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215. Métraux 1, p. 253.

there is also found among them the common form of strike-a-light in which the tinder consists of the fuzz of the fruit of the palo borracho (Chorisia insignis) kept in a container made of a a cow horn or armadillo tail.

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Fire-making Implements in the Collection

I. A. 516. (Fig. 40.)

a. Bag woven of cotton thread as a container for the implements.

b. Wick of cotton thread.

c. Receptacle for the lighted end of the wick, made of the nest of a species of wasp.

d. Piece of a modern metal file.

e. Pieces of flint.